1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

Maki he instituted was subsequently bought by Tolamp,[1] and from Tolamp transmitted by the usual method of ceremonial purchase to Vao. The story, which has many interesting features, runs as follows:

To-wewe was his father's eldest son and, like many culture-heroes here and elsewhere, had married his sister. This woman was a full sister, being born of the same father and mother as To-wewe, and her name was Lieli. The story relates how these two, having gathered a heap of nuts of the *tawò* tree, sat down together to break them open. Some of these fruits have one kernel, while others have two, divided by a thin skin. Whenever they found a nut with two kernels, they put it aside, till they had collected 100 of them. With these 100 twin-kernels the two intended to perform the Maki sacrifice. For this purpose they placed 100 half-kernels on the Upper Side of the dancing-ground and 100 on the Lower Side (corresponding to the 100 tusked boars now sacrificed on the Upper or men's Side and the 100 pigs of lesser value now sacrificed on the Lower or women's Side).[2] Having done this, they sang the following song, which is still sung on Vao on a number of important ritual occasions:

SONG 1

Sung by To-wewe

(For method of transcribing this and all subsequent songs see footnote.[3])

Slurred
ten
gor gor... le ra e, le ra e, vi a; gor gor... le ra e, le ra e vi . . . . . .
Slurred.
wi-no go na wu-ro wi-na; gor gor... le ra e, le ra e, vi . . . . . .
wi te ma wi te a, go sa... win-do-e, gi no ge na wu-re wi-ne.

Falsetto cries: "*O! oi! oi!*"—"*Wa!*" (Repeated twice.)

[1] It was not stated by my informant whether this happened while the island of Tolamp still existed, or whether it occurred after the submergence of the island, when its inhabitants had established themselves on the mainland.

[2] For other cases of the alleged sacrifice of objects other than tusked boars see pp. 452, 579.

[3] **Note on transcription of songs.** Transcription of native songs into European notation is no easy task and can at best be an approximation. I wish here to tender my warmest thanks to Sir Hugh Allen and Dr H. K. Andrews of New College.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

The words are, as those of most ritual songs, either in a special song language with archaic features or else in a foreign dialect, and are therefore obscure.[1] Their general sense, however, embodies the peaceful ideals of the Maki, and means, I was told, "The folk of some places are always fighting; I do not want to fight." The song is repeated twice over, each repetition being followed by loud cries from the dancers, the leader calling out "*O! oi! oi!*" in high falsetto, the last "*oi*" being slurred down the scale, and being replied to by a deep-sounding "*we*" from the others.

Having sung this song, To-wewe and his sister-wife were about to perform the "sacrifice" of the 200 half-kernels of *tawò*. But their father, whose name is unknown, and who was at the time sick in his house, heard them singing, and came out and stopped them, saying, "What are you doing?" And when he perceived what they were about to do, he said, "I see what you are doing. But wait a minute, don't sacrifice them (the *tawò* kernels) yet." Then he sounded the mother-gong,[2] and when all the men of the village had assembled, he said, "You see what these two are doing. They have placed 100 half-kernels at the Upper Side and 100

Oxford, who have kindly assisted me to achieve the nearest possible rendering of the various songs reproduced in this book, a list of which is found on p. xvi. As mentioned on p. 313, the main melody is frequently harmonised by the natives singing in more than one part. As most of my actual recording was, however, done from individual informants, it has not been possible to reproduce these parts except in a few outstanding instances; when, for example, the same native in repeating the same song would vary certain notes, or when two informants would each have their own variations. When plotted out together, however, all these variations were found to be in harmony with one another, and clearly represented what we should speak of as "parts," and are recorded as such in the transcriptions here given.

Since very few of these songs fit in with the regular time beats familiar in European music, no time signatures are attempted, and the very complicated rhythms are indicated as nearly as possible by means of (a) *slurs*, (b) *bars* not taken as time measures but as indicating the end of a phrase both in the music and in the words, (c) *apostrophes* indicating a definite break in the rhythm followed by a fresh "attack," and (d) *stresses* below the stave indicating accented notes. A special feature of these stresses is found in the following notation , consisting of two stressed quavers indicating a sustained note with a subsidiary beat corresponding to that of the dancers' feet. This only occurs in those songs which are accompanied by more or less violent dancing, and replaces the simple crotchet used when the dancers are stationary or in slow-moving procession. In later chapters the *sforzando* marks (stresses) below the tied quavers will be omitted, it being by then understood that the tying of two quavers on a single syllable itself implies some measure of accentuation on the second as well as on the first.

[1] *Wi-no* (*wi-na*, *wi-ne*) appears to be equivalent to the modern *wan*, meaning "go." *Go* is the future first person singular pronoun, meaning "I shall," or "Shall I?" *Na wu-ro* is equivalent to the Atchin *na wahal* (Vao *vaghal*), meaning "the fight." *Wi-te ma wi-te* means "It is not I," and *go sa win-do-e*, "What shall I do?" The word *gor-gor*, with which the song begins, could be connected with so many words in current Vao speech, such as *ghore*, "to chase" or "to remove a taboo," or *goro*, "to raid," that I hesitate to give any explanation. In view of the Wala version given below, it may possibly refer to the chasing of the aboriginal man-eating tyrant Ias, whose death coincided with the introduction of the stone-platform on Atchin.

[2] See p. 346.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

women became excluded, and by which incest (represented by copulation with the mother) in some form was abandoned; though it will be noted that there seems to have been no objection to To-wewe marrying his sister.

In the second place, there is the obvious connexion with mortuary rites, since the hero dies a voluntary death, presumably with the intention of being re-born.

Thirdly, there is the very remarkable mode of sepulture, in an upright hollow tree, recalling the tree-trunk burial of Attis and Osiris, while at the same time the tree chosen for this is that commonly used for making sea-going canoes, recalling many instances of burial in canoes throughout the islands.

Fourthly, there is the identification between the man and his tusked boar, which we have already seen to play such an important part in bringing about the identification between a man and the Guardian Ghost. It will be noted that the boar in question was a circle-tusker, which indicates that the event was comparatively recent.

Fifthly, the rite is definitely connected with ideas concerning the importance of the eldest son.

In the sixth place, it again emphasises the connexion between the newer form of the rite and the decimal system, the ten sons corresponding to the ten shrines erected in the later forms of Maki now practised on Atchin, together with the division of each village on that island into ten families each of whom is responsible for one shrine, and in the corresponding mythology concerning the ten grandsons of Le-saw-saw the Guardian Ghost.

OCCASIONS ON WHICH TO-WEWE'S SONG IS SUNG

(*a*) Vao

The song sung by To-wewe and his sister-wife, both when about to sacrifice the 100 twin-kernels and again when he enters on his voluntary death, is sung today on Vao on the occasion of the following *rites de passage*:

(*a*) During the mock battle that accompanies the celebration of the birth of an eldest son.[1]

(*b*) On the eve of the rites called *matean*, observed for the death of an old man prior to a dramatic scene in which the dead man is impersonated by a kinsman entering the hut built over his tomb and holds converse with the living, telling them that the dead man has returned to his mother's village.[2]

(*b*) Wala

The song is known also in other parts of the Small Islands. In Wala it is sung on the supreme occasion when a super-circle-tusker is consecrated for sacrifice at the Maki, clearly connecting this rite with To-

[1] See p. 183. [2] See p. 546.

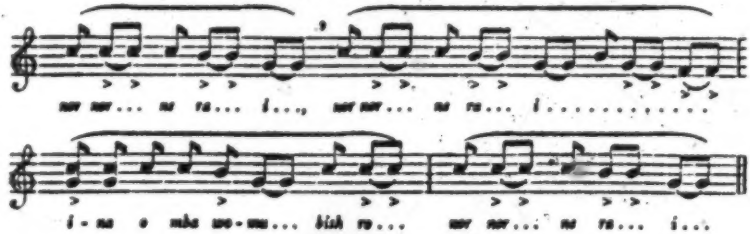
1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

533
184

wewe's self-sacrifice along with his tusker in the tree. The version here sung is inferior to that sung on Vao, but is significantly connected with the mythological figure of Ias, who symbolises in his own person Small Island culture at the time when the only monument erected was the single large dolmen.[1]

SONG 2

Wala version of the song which in Vao is connected with To-wewe



Cries of *Ias o!* *Ias o!* (twice).

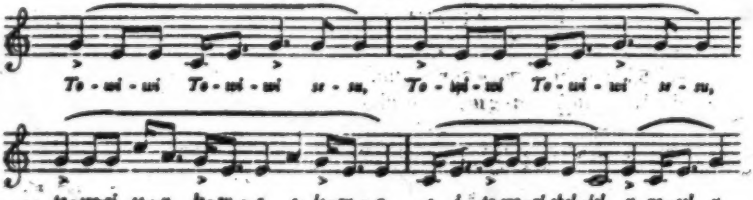
The opening words are similar to those of the Vao version, but the rest (which I am unable to translate) differ. The inference to Ias comes in the cries at the end.

(*c*) Atchin

Words in certain other respects similar to those of the Vao version, and including the name of To-wewe, are sung on Atchin in connexion with the annual feast celebrating the return of the palolo annelid which marks the beginning of the calendar in the October-November moon. This is also the period when the ghosts of the dead are believed to revisit their former homes.

SONG 3

Sung during the New Year (Palu-ulen) feast on Atchin



(The last note is slurred upwards into cries of joy.)

[1] The mythology of Ias is chiefly connected with Atchin, where he is said to have been a man-eating ogre at a time ante-dating the introduction of the stone-platform, along with patrilineal descent, some twenty generations ago. The story of his assassination at the hands of representatives of the new culture will be told in a future volume. The historical era he represents corresponds to that of Ghiagh on Vao, and the two names are philologically equivalent.

Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

I noted this song before I was aware of the story of To-wewe. The only information I can give about it is that the last phrase means "They seek (*shel-iel*) *tawor* kernels on the path (*ne-selu*)."

Ranks: originally Four, now Two

Once the stone-platform had been introduced to Vao from N'av-av by way of Tolamp, all the sub-rites connected with it were transmitted one by one through the same channel by the method of ceremonial purchase.

(a) *Vel-vel (or Na-som) and Mulon.*

The dual form of Maki resulting from this process included at one time four ranks, divided into two groups of two ranks each. The lowest group consisted of *Vel-vel* and *Mulon*. These are the two highest ranks known among the Big Nambas according to Deacon's information, and the only two according to my own information derived from Atchin, where *Mulon* is said to be the Big Nambas title for a chief. An alternative title for *Vel-vel* was *Na-som*, the word ordinarily used for shell-bead necklaces that in Vao are used purely for ornament but in the Banks Islands are money. Godefroy refers to both these as "children's titles," and it is possible that they may still be taken by boys during the mass sacrifice on the Lower Side of the dancing-ground described on pp. 390, 429.

(b) *Mal and Melteg.*

The highest group consisted of *Mal*, universally considered as the highest in the whole of the Northern New Hebrides, and the supernumerary title of *Melteg*.[1] Of these, *Melteg* is itself but a modified form of *Mal*, being formed by the addition of the syllable *teg*, which causes the *a* of *Mal* to be transformed into an *e*, *teg* being but another form of the word *togh* meaning "to stay," and referring to the periods of voluntary retreat undertaken by those of high rank after the sacrifice.

Only Mal and Melteg remain.

The process of democratisation in the Small Islands, combined with the enormously increased wealth of these islanders in pigs, has on Vao, as on Atchin, had the result that in recent years all the lower ranks have disappeared. Thus, for example, the rank of *Mulon* applied to chiefs among the Big Nambas has sunk so low as to become obsolete. This has no immediate social consequences since the Big Nambas have at the present time little or no contact with Vao. What is, however, most galling to the men of high rank on the east coast of Malekula is the fact that *Mal*, which is now actually the lowest of the two ranks taken on Vao, is

[1] Godefroy sometimes spells this *Meltek*, and when followed by a personal name often omits the *g* or *k*, leaving only *Melta*.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

Gong-orchestras composed of both types.

In the Small Islands both types of gong are combined to form an orchestral unit consisting of a "mother-gong," which is the largest and is planted upright in the centre, round which are grouped a number of smaller upright slit gongs, all of which are sounded by means of a single stick beaten upon one edge of the slit, and of an indefinite number of small portable horizontal gonglets beaten at a great rate by means of two sticks held one in either hand.[1]

A large orchestra may require the co-operation of as many as fifteen players. There is no caste of professional players, each male member of the community being able to take his part, provided he has not been absent from the island too long during his youth and has so missed the opportunity of learning.

General description of Gong-Rhythms.

The effect produced by the gongs is exciting to a degree which anyone who has not heard them cannot easily grasp. For the gongs are not tuned, and though the tone of the large uprights is naturally deeper than that of the smaller uprights, and that of the small portable gonglets is much higher still, there is nothing in the orchestration which could by any stretch of the imagination be called melody. The whole art, on the contrary, is based on what might be called, for want of a better term, a contrapuntal effect in pure rhythm. Thus, one rhythm is sounded by a man whom we may call the conductor, who on important occasions is the leading man of the rite, on the mother-gong. He is the only man who sits, usually on a stone seat, before his gong, which he beats with a single soft-wood stick held in both hands. The rhythm he beats out is comparatively slow, and the large size of the gong causes the sound he produces to be carried far and wide over a great distance. Simultaneously with this, a second rhythm is sounded on one or two of the next size of upright gong, which the player, who stands, beats with a single stick held in his right hand while with his left he supports his weight by leaning it against the gong. A third rhythm, differing from either of these but fitting in with them both, is at the same time sounded in a similar manner on yet smaller uprights, and a fourth, again differing from but fitting in with the rest, is sounded on the small portable horizontal gonglets beaten like kettle-drums with two sticks and producing a shrill striking of the air, very loud when heard close by but not carrying far. All four rhythms run counter to one another, sometimes producing an effect of indescribable excitement like waves in a choppy sea, at others combining like a deep-sea swell, uplifting for a moment, then perhaps ending in a sudden squall followed by breathless silence.

[1] For details of construction and arrangement see pp. 346 ff.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

Every performance on the gongs is further divided into a number of "movements," the whole four-part rhythm suddenly changing from one "movement" to another. Even the simplest of these rhythms are so complicated that no European has been known to master one. I myself, though moderately musical and able to join in their songs, completely failed after repeated attempts. Moreover, natives who have left the island as boys to work on a white man's plantation have been known, when they came back, to be equally unable to pick them up.

Special rhythms (gong-signals) for different occasions.

There is a great number of such combined rhythms, which vary greatly also in the emotions they arouse and in their sociological significance. I had no time on Vao to make any but the most superficial study of them, and know only a few even of their names. Of these, however, three occur so constantly as to force themselves on the attention. These are:

(*a*) The "summoning signal," sounded by the members of the introducing "line" in the Maki and allied rites or by the dead man's kin in mortuary ritual to call either the members of the opposite "line" in their own village or members of other villages to come to any given rite, dance or food-distribution, or to set about some prearranged ritual task. This signal is called *ragh-raghe ne-luw*. I do not know the literal meaning of *ne-luw*, but *ragh-raghe* is the reduplicated equivalent of the Atchin *rahe*, which in turn is probably connected with *ne-rahin*, meaning "footstep" or "track." On certain occasions the object for which the summons is sent out is specifically stated in the name used for the gong-signal. Thus when the object is a distribution of yams and other food-stuffs the signal will be called *na-mbe ragh-raghe ne-luw na-ram*, "summoning gong (*na-mbe*)-signal for the (?) distribution of yams (*na-ram*)."

(*b*) The "approach signal," sounded by those so summoned on leaving their respective dancing-grounds as a sign to those waiting for them that they have now set out. This signal is called *ne-ôs-ôs*, and is sounded also during the rites of Initiation into Manhood when all the materials for building the special Lodge have been collected and when the novices enter the dancing-ground on their way into the Lodge.[1] This special connexion with initiation is of interest in that on Atchin the chief form of this rite is called *baho n'ôs-ôs*.[2] I am unable to translate this word, and can only point out that the nearest approach to it I know of is found in the phrase *naai nôh* (probably *na-ai n'ôh*) used for sacred objects in the Ni-mangki Tlel secret society of Lambumbu which Deacon considers to be connected with the Banks Islands *Tamate* societies, these having many features in common with initiation in the Small Islands.[3]

[1] See pp. 505, 510. [2] See p. 499. [3] See Deacon, 4, pp. 438 ff.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

(*c*) The "sacrificial signal," sounded whenever a tusked boar is ritually sacrificed.[1] The sounding of this signal is called *asar*. The use of this word differs from that of the other two gong-signals already mentioned, in that the names for these two are used adjectivally and are always preceded by the word *na-mbe*, meaning "gong" or "gong-signal," whereas *asar* is a verb of which the nominal form, *asaren*, is rarely used.

In addition to these oft-repeated signals, each song-and-dance cycle mentioned below has its own particular rhythms, known by the same name as the dance prefixed by the word *na-mbe*.

When to the already complicated rhythms of the gongs are added the further counter-rhythms of the dance-steps and of the accompanying songs, the effect is one of indescribable excitement, stirring emotions that the concerts of Europe never touch but that the natives can call forth at will through their unrivalled sense of rhythm.

Certain recurring dance-movements also have their own special rhythms, such as the serpentine running movement in single file referred to below on p. 323, for which the rhythm is called *ril-dralen*, philologically connected with the processional dance called *na-rel*.[2]

There are also special signals such as that called *tav-tav ghore* used on great sacrificial occasions when a special screen hiding the tusked boars is torn down prior to the sacrificial act.[3]

In addition to these there are special rhythms for announcing a death, together with the rank of the dead man, or the birth of an eldest son, or for summoning the people in case of war. There is also a special gong-signal sounded to announce the arrival of a stranger. According to Godefroy,[4] if such a one arrives on the shore and asks to speak to someone on the island, he is straightway conducted to the dancing-ground of the clan to whom the man he is seeking belongs. If this man is away, the one who accompanied the stranger will sound this special signal on the gongs, together with other signals specifying the man he seeks.[5]

SONGS

Of the songs themselves, only the faintest indication is afforded in the few examples which I give in this book. For one reason, they are almost invariably sung in more than one part. These parts are, so far as I know, not definitely recognised as such, at least so far as the men's voices are concerned, notes being altered at will by individual singers while fitting in with the harmonic scheme and melody of the song. When sung in chorus during dancing, which is the most spectacular form of the art and

[1] But not when it is killed only for food, as is the case with gelded tuskers.
[2] See p. 318. [3] See pp. 389, 420, 429. [4] Godefroy, 1, 1934, p. 59.
[5] For accounts of gong-rhythms in Seniang, including examples in notation, see Deacon, 4, Chapter XVII.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

533 that which arouses the more active emotions, the men all sing in a kind of high-pitched voice that, though not actually falsetto, almost has the effect of being so, and that, heard individually, would sound strained. It is, however, not so in fact, since the natives are able to keep it up all night. However it is produced—and I entirely failed to imitate it myself—it has the effect that the singing rings out through the forest surrounding the dancing-ground in a way that ordinary deep-voiced singing (of which the natives are also capable) does not, a fact apparently due to the increase in the number of harmonics that this method of voice-production brings forth.

This alone makes it impossible to reproduce these songs in anything like their original vigour. Another fact is that, on certain occasions, the women join in a kind of high descant, their incredibly high-pitched voices stabbing the air with harmonies that leap up and down the upper octaves in a bewildering manner, producing an effect that I can only describe metaphorically as resembling tongues of brightly coloured light, or, if we retain the sea-metaphor used for the gong-rhythms which accompany the singing, clear fountains of spray.

It is with the greatest regret that I am unable to reproduce any of this music at all adequately. Though I was not able to take any of the solo parts, owing to the high pitch of the voice that I could not achieve with sufficient force for more than a few notes at a time without becoming hoarse, I nevertheless frequently danced and sang in chorus, and it was from doing this, and from the habit I made of gathering young men in my hut to sing at night, when I could check over mistakes, that I was able to note down a number of songs. This was, indeed, my most enjoyable method of relaxation after the day's work. The songs thus noted were again gone over with a specially musical informant, and, though fragmentary and allowing for the impossibility of exact reproduction in ordinary musical notation, I can guarantee them accurate so far as they go. These evening concerts were held on Atchin, and it is from that island that most of the songs I noted come. These will appear in later volumes. With the practice I there had, however, I was able to note songs from informants elsewhere, and the Vao examples given in this book are one of the results. At the same time, I took a number of phonograph records, both of the songs and of the gong-rhythms, some of which have now been transferred on to gramophone plates, which await detailed study by experts.[1]

533 176 Every native can sing, and most natives have from time to time composed their own songs. There are, nevertheless, certain individuals

[1] If any reader skilled in comparative music and the scientific working out of such material would care to undertake this work I should be glad to hear from him.

For transcriptions of songs noted down in the field, see Index under "Songs," and particularly the technical footnote to Song 1, p. 284.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

who excel in this, and who compose songs that sometimes come to them in dreams or else consciously during the day. This gift, like everything else in the Small Islands, is commercialised. Songs are composed on request and duly charged for, and, if of a ritual nature, will thenceforth enjoy the same "copyright" protection as is afforded to all tangible and intangible elements of native culture. For ritual songs once sung become the property of those who first sing them, and may not be repeated by others without due payment.

Structure of songs.

The songs thus sung are all based on the pentatonic scale, but are by no means restricted to it, there being considerable modal variation and a very wide range, both in the character of the songs and in their compass, which sometimes extends (quite apart from the descant frequently sung by the women) to over an octave. Details of their very elaborate structure, together with the native terminology regarding it, will be given in a later volume dealing with music on Atchin, in the language of which island the terms were recorded. As a general description it is enough to say here that each song as a rule begins with a refrain consisting in the Small Islands of the tune sung with a series of nasalised vowels,[1] which is called the "leaf." This is then followed by a verse, sung to the same tune, which is called the "fruit." Verse and refrain then repeat and alternate with one another in patterns differing for the different types of song.[2] Sometimes the leader sings alone, and sometimes the chorus. It is characteristic of all native songs that they always end on a weak note. Accordingly, no song ever ends at the end of a verse, the end coming at the beginning of a repetition of the refrain, which is then cut short by cries of specified types in which leader and chorus usually alternate with one another, and, if the song is accompanied by gongs, by a heightened speed in the rhythm followed by a sudden and dramatic stop.

Great number of songs, and occasions on which sung.

There is an immense number of such songs. There are, to begin with, the ritual cycles connected with all-night dances, during which the same song must not be repeated twice.[3] As each song, together with repeats and intervals, takes on an average not more than ten minutes, this means that at least 70 songs must be sung in a single night. There are several of

[1] In other parts of Malekula, such as South-West Bay, the refrain consists of vowels preceded by the consonants *w* and *l*.

[2] Since I did not make a special study of songs on Vao, those recorded in this volume contain only the verse. Examples from other islands, including the refrain, will be given in later volumes.

[3] Cf. Deacon, 4, p. 363, reporting from Lambumbu that "if possible, a song is not sung twice on the same night."

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

533 such song-and-dance cycles performed during the Maki and other rites, so that the number of these ritual songs alone mounts up to several hundred. In addition to these, there are special mortuary songs, songs connected with initiation, with gong-raising, lodge-building and all the numerous other major rites, as well as sea-songs and songs sung during the consecration of sea-going canoes. Then there are yet other songs sung by individuals, such as love-songs, incantations connected with magic and with the rearing of pigs, songs sung when manufacturing fish-traps, children's songs, and all the numerous ditties sung in connexion with tales of legendary heroes and fairy-tales dealing with the doings of birds, rats, eels, flying foxes and an endless number of other animate and inanimate objects. I calculated at one time that even the least musical of natives knew at least 1000 songs, or parts of them, and experts a great many more.

DANCES

535 We are here, however, concerned primarily with the Maki, and this leads us on to the last general feature to be gone into before entering on a detailed description of this rite, namely the dances.

I have already described the "circling" performed by the Maki-men and their sons-in-law and brothers-in-law during the presentation of tusked boars. This is one of the few dances performed by individuals. It is also one of the few dances (possibly the only one) unaccompanied by singing.

The majority of ritual dances are, on the contrary, performed by bodies of men, who at the same time sing and are usually, though not always, accompanied by gongs. With regard to these, as to the "circling," my most detailed notes were taken on Atchin, where I joined in the dances myself and made a close study of the various movements of which some of them are composed, together with the technical terms applied to them. These will be given in another volume. I did not make the same detailed investigation on Vao, and my account of the Vao dances will therefore be restricted to a few of their most salient features.

Terminology of villages dancing in rotation.

The ordinary Vao verb for "to dance" is *vel*, of which the nominal form is *veluan*, "dancing." As already stated, the performance of each major rite is heralded for weeks ahead by the men of each Vao village in turn coming in prescribed order to the home-village to dance at intervals of two or more days between each. Each party that comes is welcomed by the Maki-men, and the whole process is therefore called *ar tame vanu*, "they welcome [1] the villages," to which is added the name of the dance they are about to perform. Thus, where the dance about to be performed is that called *Velal* (see below), the phrase used is *ar tame*

[1] See p. 299.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

Maki-men that is performing the rite, and more particularly of the chief sacrificers of this "line" whose boars will be slain on the stone-platform. In accordance with the general principles governing the Maki, the members of this "line" will not themselves do any of the work connected with the making, transport or erection of the gongs. This work will be accomplished by the members of the introducing "line" in the home-villages, assisted at times by members of the other Vao villages, the part played by the Maki-men being confined to providing all the pigs and other food for the accompanying feasts, and dancing and singing songs from the appropriate song-and-dance cycles for the encouragement and pleasure of the workers, and for their own honour and glory.

Composition of gong-orchestra on Vao. Names of the gongs.

Before giving an account of the rites it is necessary to add to the general description given on pp. 311-12 a more detailed description of them as they are arranged and constructed on Vao. The general word for gong on this island is *na-mbe*, and the gong-orchestra consists of—

(*a*) *Upright gongs*, with human face carved above the slit and beaten with a single stick:

(i) The mother-gong, called *tinan*, meaning simply "mother." This is the largest.

(ii) A slightly smaller upright gong, called *tarine*.

(iii) Another slightly smaller one called *ghelungbe*.

(iv) If a sufficient number of men are available to work and pigs to be killed, a fourth kind of upright gong is set up, called *pētūr*. It is considered to be of the same calibre as the *tarine*. [This may be an innovation from Atchin, as one of the Atchin upright gongs is called *pwetur*.]

(*b*) *Horizontal gongs*, uncarved, and beaten with two sticks:

(i) A large horizontal gong called *ru-rurghen*.

(ii) A number of small portable horizontal gonglets called *sarune*.

In all cases, the sticks for beating the gongs are called *masan*.

Construction of upright slit gong.

Each upright gong is made out of the trunk of a large forest tree, usually of the kind called *mes-mes*.[1] Each of the larger gongs has on its upper end a pierced projection, called *pilön*, meaning "bald," through which a rope is passed when it is dragged to the shore of the mainland, where it has been felled, and later from the Vao beach to the dancing-ground where it is to be set up. On the lower end is an undercut projection, called *laghen*, which, when the gong is set up, is inserted into the ground. The gong is hollowed out by experts (see p. 355), by means of

[1] Godefroy, I, 1933, p. 38, says that gongs may also be made of trees which he calls "tamanou," "faux teck" (false teak) and "cohu," called by the natives *na-tor(a)*.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

table is made or not, "counters" are distributed as was the case in the Gong-Raising rite for the provision of yams, each member of the home-village and certain men belonging to its twin-village making themselves responsible for an agreed number of lone- and attached-yams.

Table-stone hauled up to dancing-ground on sledge (simbe) by parties from all villages.

On the day appointed for hauling the table-stone up to the dancing-ground, representatives from all the Vao villages and from the neighbouring mainland and Small Islands assemble on the shore. Message-yams are laid out for the different villages so represented, and the members of each Lodge[1] in the home-village select a body of men to work for them, signifying their choice by handing a message-yam to the representative of each group so selected. These representatives then return home with the yams and with the news of which Quarter-Lodge they have been chosen to work for. Later in the day they all come back, each leading a party from his own village. These, working in relays, now drag the stone up to the dancing-ground, having previously placed it on a sledge formed of two wooden balks with cross-pieces which they haul by means of stout ropes, probably of the same kind as is used for hauling the gongs. This sledge (see Plate XVI, 2) is called *simbe*, meaning "seat," and so also "that on which the stone sits," and is ultimately connected with the Indonesian word *sĕmba*, and through that with *sukwe*, *na-humbe* and the whole complex of words related to these which has already been discussed.[2]

While hauling, the Workers sing and Maki-men dance Settling-Down and Taur Na-mbak.

As they haul the stone from the beach up to the dancing-ground the workers sing songs belonging to various song-and-dance cycles roughly in the order in which they are more formally performed during the final stages of the Maki leading up to the main sacrifice, while the Maki-men dance to welcome them. Thus, as the stone is being dragged along the beach they sing songs of the *Settling-Down* cycle. On the path leading from the beach to the village they break into songs of any cycle they like. Then, as they approach the dancing-ground, the gongs strike up the rhythms proper to the culminating cycle of *Taur Na-mbak*. As they do so, the workers burst into songs of this cycle, and three or four of the most important Maki-men dance *Taur Na-mbak* in front of them, progressing in serpentine course from one side of the stone to the other.

[1] I did not record whether this selection was made by the Quarter-Lodge or by the Side of the Lodge. Comparing this with the rites accompanying the selection of the small uprights described on p. 419, it is probably the Quarter-Lodge that is meant.

[2] See pp. 274, 693.

1: Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

approaching from Oba, the home of the sky-deity Ta-ghar, laden with tusked boars. With this symbolism in view, all the men of the home-village dance up and down the ground on either side of the pigs, clapping their hands in Oba fashion and singing one of the Oba men's songs such as are sung when returning from that island, and especially on the homeward journey of the novices who have been there for the first time and have undergone there a special rite of initiation into the mysteries of sex.[1] These songs are concerned chiefly with seafaring, and the one sung on this occasion has, like most of this cycle, a magnificently rolling rhythm:[2]

SONG 4. OBA MEN'S SONG

Sung during the Exhibition of Pigs

I am not able to give an exact translation of the song, except to say that the phrase *wentemaya* represents the sound of the wind howling in the

[1] See Oba Pilgrimage, p. 526.

[2] This is the only such song here recorded. There are, however, many other songs belonging to this cycle.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

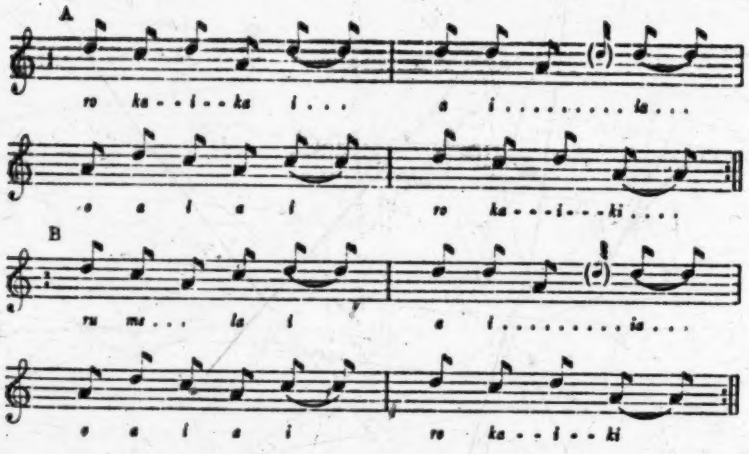
posts supporting the hawk-banners are shaken and crash to the ground, and the hawk-banners themselves are broken up, trodden on, and their shattered remains thrown away. What this rite means I am unable to say, save that it corresponds with the shooting and destruction of masks and other objects on the Thirtieth Day after most of the major rites in Atchin and Wala.[1]

Abridged performance of women's na-leng called Rokaik.

Most all-night dances are followed at dawn by the performance of *na-leng* mumming-plays and figure-dances. In this case I have no record of such a dance, but its place appears to be taken by a rite anticipating the performance of the "Women's *na-leng*" called *Rokaik* that occurs at dawn on the occasion of the main sacrifice at High Maki. The only detail of this that I have recorded here is that certain Maki-men dance down the dancing-ground and back again waving branches of a kind called *ro-mavi* round and round in front of them,[2] singing the following song which, like most *na-leng* songs, is in much simpler and more straightforward time than those belonging to the other song-and-dance cycles.

SONG 5. ROKAIK

Sung by Maki-men at Dawn after All-Night Dance on Eve of Maki



After this, a single pig is killed (probably sacrificed) to mark the end of the all-night proceedings.

[1] Cf. the shooting of masks representing the Guardian Ghost to be described in a future volume.

[2] In High Maki the women are ritually "beaten" off the dancing-ground with branches of which these are an anticipatory symbol. See p. 424.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

796X
[533]

on this occasion no ritual announcing, each man telling his new name privately to his friends, the public announcement of these not being made till the fourth day after the great sacrifice, when a special rite called *Toghòghon* is held for this purpose.

Complimentary-pigs and belated consideration-pigs given to donors of presentation-pigs.

When the mass sacrifice is over, the pigs and fowls thus ritually despatched are distributed, along with the usual heaps of food set out in the prescribed order of villages, among the guests. At this point in the rite also complimentary-pigs are given by the Maki-men to those who "circled" for presentation-pigs earlier in the day. I was told also, rather humorously, that even belated consideration-pigs, that should by rights have been given to the prospective receivers of presentation-pigs in earnest for these long before the actual presentation, may now also be given, quite possibly some of the smaller presentation-pigs not used for sacrifice being used for this purpose.

Maki-men pay mother's brothers for their new names.

Now also occurs the important rite in which each Maki-man pays his mother's brother for his new name. I have unfortunately no detailed account of how this is done on Vao. On Atchin the transaction involves the conveyance of two boars, the Maki-man first going to his mother's brother, demanding from him a comparatively low-grade tusker, which the mother's brother hands over to him on one of the many formal occasions on which presentations are made prior to the sacrificial day. This presentation constitutes the mother's brother's contribution in what is regarded formally as an "exchange" of compliments between the two. The main presentation is, however, that now made in return by the Maki-man to him, which consists of a tusked boar of considerably higher grade, and it is this boar which is called "paying for the name." [1]

[1] In the language of Àtchin this is called *e wuli ne-sen*, "he (it) pays for his name." I did not record the manner in which this presentation is made on Vao, or whether the boar is "circled" for or not. In its commercial aspect, however, there is a remarkable similarity between the transaction just described and the exchange of consideration- and presentation-pigs between each important Maki-man and his daughter's husband, in which the Maki-man gives his son-in-law a consideration-pig, in return for which the son-in-law gives the Maki-man, his wife's father, a presentation-pig. Reference to Fig. 20 representing the four-section element in the kinship system, on which this essential part of Maki ritual appears to be founded, will show that within the limits of this element the wife's father belongs to the same marriage section as the mother's brother, and in this way the two are sociologically equivalent. Whereas *before* the mass sacrifice, however, while the Maki-men are still candidates, it is the Maki-man who, in the rôle of wife's father, receives the presentation-pig, *after* the mass-sacrifice when the rôles are reversed and the Maki-man has now attained his new dignity, it is in the rôle of sister's son that he now makes presentation to his mother's brother in payment for his new name, and the balance is thus restored.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

SONG 6. LE-TEAN

X496
●533
539

A
(1) me - lang - - - ge - le . . . pe - te - re - - si
(2) me - lang - - - ge - le . . . te - te she - - me - me
(1) Young men . . . . . (of) Peter-ihi
(2) Young man . . . . . brother our
B
me - lang - - gel be - te - - wen or . . . re - res . . . be - te - - - wen im . . .
Young men nothing they talk nothing
C
me - - li - teg - - tal - we - gha - - re i . . . e re - mbe . . re - gho - ve - - - re . . .
Melteg - - - tal - we - gharu he sacrifices circle-tusker,
re - mbe . . mel - teg - - - - e - - re . . , si wen pe - te - re - si e . . .
sacrifices Melteg - oru goes to Peter-ihi . . . .
D
u he - he . . . re . . . . . me - lang - gel pe - - te - re - si e
he shows to young men (of) Peter-ihi
re gun be - wen . . or . . . re - res be - te - wen . . .
[who walk about] nothing they talk nothing.

Order in which phrases are sung: A (1) B; A (1) B; A (2) C; DD.

The words are in the usual archaic-poetic style: [1]

[1] Spoken Atchin equivalents:—*melanggels = Malakel; bete-wen = na-wen; re-res = reti; shemams = semam; rumbe = rewisi; rogho-ve-re = ruk-we-re.*

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

881 533 Now also, in addition to songs of the *Na-rel* song-and-dance cycle, yet others are sung belonging to the cycle called *Le-tean*, of which the following, sung very slowly, is a good example:

SONG 7. LE-TEAN (bought from Atchin)

This is an Atchin song, bought from that island, and the words are neither in the Atchin nor in the Vao language, but are a mixture of the poetic diction ordinarily used in songs, and Atchin words mispronounced in the usual Vao manner. They appear to mean "Dance upward, upward, let us go to a high place; Our yams at Togh-vanu, the first place, we distribute to all places." The words of the corresponding Atchin song belonging to the *Kulen* cycle on that island, sung on a similar occasion, run: "*Leng mare mare re ulol weno o; ni-rom semam o Me-le Mparav ba wemu o re te les wenu o.*" Allowing for changes in pronunciation, the words are the same except for the fact that the Atchin word *leng*, recalling the *na-leng* maze-dances, has been replaced by the Vao word *vel*, the ordinary word for "dance," and the name of the Vao village of Togh-vanu (note the poetic *To-go-va-nu* to fit in with the rhythm) replaces that of the Atchin village of Emil Parav (note again the poetic *Me-le Mparav*). The name of the village alters, of course, with each village in which the song is sung, and it is an interesting example of the boasting ethos of Malekula that in each case the village in which the song is sung is designated "the first place"! The tune has also lost distinction in transit, being distinctly less impressive than the Atchin version.[1]

The songs belonging to this cycle differ in character from those of most Small Island song-cycles in that they are sung very slowly and with much conscious dignity, within the house-enclosure (later inside the house itself), and to a slow measured walking tread. This one is also remarkable in that it is one of the few Small Island songs which fit into common (4) time.

881 535 *Villages in succession dance Banana-Leaves. Operation announced to take place on seventh day after the last dance.*

When the construction of the initiation house is finished, members of all the Vao villages arrive in turn, at intervals of a few days, to perform the *Banana-Leaves* dance.

[1] See future volume.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

On Vao, however, this form of restriction is laxer, since women may see them, but only at a distance, and may not speak to them. Here also, however, as at Atchin, this prohibition does not take effect from the time of the operation, since women line the route by which they process from beach to dancing-ground, but comes into force only after their entrance into the initiation house, an interesting indication of the convergence of two originally separate rites, already referred to.[1]

The first hoax. Tutors say they are going to fetch fine mats, but in fact strew white ashes on floor.

But even now the novices are allowed no rest. The moment they are in the house, the hoaxes begin. The novices are at first led to believe that they are to be treated magnificently and made comfortable beyond their dreams, and when their tutors say "Now we'll go and get new *tapa* mats (*ta-mbagha mbar*) for you," they feel their dreams are about to come true. But the tutors return with nothing better than baskets full of white ashes, which they spread on the floor for the novices to sleep on, without mat or pillow of any kind. As in all things connected with initiation, these ashes serve a dual purpose, on the one hand acting as a disinfectant,[2] continually finding their way, despite the penis-wrappers and the soft dressing of *ro vile-vile* leaves beneath, to sting and cauterise the wound, and on the other providing the means towards a practical joke on the poor novices.

Initiates dance and sing all night in initiation house.

Even could they sleep under these conditions, they may not for the noise. For all night long, for the first five nights of their sojourn, the tutors and other initiates dance up and down the centre of the house singing songs of the *Tughunuan* and *Le-tean* cycles, kicking up dust mixed with white ashes over the prostrate novices.

This all-night dancing continues, depriving the novices of sleep, for the five days that constitute the intensive period of the rite.

Le-tean song (corresponding to Atchin Kulen).

Of these songs, those belonging to the *Le-tean* cycle, corresponding to the Atchin *Kulen*, are panegyrics about those who have performed the Maki rite and taken Maki titles.

Tughunuan song.

Songs belonging to the *Tughunuan* cycle are of a very different character, approximating more closely to children's songs, being for the most part about birds or fruit, and to each of these some sort of hoax is attached.

[1] See p. 485.
[2] Against organisms, such as tetanus, already present in the earth. See also p. 259.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

881 One of these is of a man clearing a place in which to make a garden, and runs:

533

SONG 8. TUGHUNUAN

ten
rav te - - te ne-gha e . . . . e o, ne hagh e tw - tw his (m);
We cut down branches . . . . . , I have climbed tired (hummed)
rav te ne-ghe ne-moh e, tur go la-tan sur-is e,
We cut branches in the bush, remain on the ground, leave off,
re sem - bel re re sul e; ne hagh e tw - tw his (m).*
let us climb down, let us return; I have climbed tired. (hummed)

"We cut down branches from the trees,
I have climbed up (so many times that) I am tired;
We cut down branches in the bush,
Let us stay on the ground, and leave off work,
Let us climb down, and go home;
I have climbed up (so many times that) I am tired."

I did not record the hoax accompanying this song.

881 *Hoaxes. Threats of homosexual activities of ghosts.*

During the first five days of the novices' confinement in the initiation house, no moment is free from the fear that some hoax or other may be played on them. While the hoaxes practised on Vao cannot compare, in number and severity, with those practised on Atchin which continue throughout the whole thirty days and a full account of which will be given in a subsequent volume, their general tone is not dissimilar, being based on terrorising the novices and, in particular, frightening them with the alleged homosexual appetites of ghosts.

Novices attacked by initiates disguised as ghosts.

A recurring theme is for the initiates to divide themselves into two parties, one outside the house and one within. Those inside, including the tutors, dance and sing songs of the *Tughunuan* cycle, lulling the suspicions of the weary novices by every means within their power, when,

* Atchin spoken equivalents: *te-te=tei; ne-gha=ne-hi; hagh=sa; na-moh=la-mish; sembel=tupul.*

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

Special song.

881 "There is a special song belonging to this pilgrimage and to the voyage there and back; but it is kept secret, on pain of death." Godefroy relates that one day, when the young men of Wala had just come back from their initiation on Oba, one of their elders, while resting one afternoon in his house, was surprised by his wife in the act of singing over to himself the sacred Oba song, with the result that she immediately began to embrace him, begging him to sing over to her this chant unknown to the uninitiated and above all to women. "He was unable to resist, and was seduced into betraying the famous Oba song. While he was singing it, however, two youths who happened to be sleeping beneath the gable of a near-by house woke up, and naturally overheard the stanzas of the forbidden song. Horrified, they rose up and fled as fast as their legs would carry them to the *ghamal*, where they told of the wretched man's crime. That night, there was a debate followed by judgment. The culprit saved himself by fleeing, with his wife, in a canoe and lived for many years in exile. Eventually he managed to come back, but not without sacrifice of several large tuskers, which was an expensive business." [1]

881 I do not know what this special song is. The youths from Atchin learn many songs when on Oba. Those are of two kinds: (*a*) these called "Oba Men's Songs" which are sung also during the Maki and mortuary rites, usually in connexion with canoes and tusked boars, and (*b*) special love-songs called in Atchin *nu-mbo tamar*, examples of which will be given in a future volume.

Appeal to ancestors for fair weather for a safe return.

881 Godefroy gives a dramatic instance of the special care the ancestors are held to exercise over this expedition. Note that in this instance it is the ancestors who are appealed to direct, through song and sacrifice, in marked contrast to the ordinary weather magic done privately by individual practitioners.

"About four years ago [i.e. about 1928] the young men of the villages of Pete-hul and Togh-vanu undertook their pilgrimage to Oba. On the Seventh Day after their departure the trade wind was blowing with such violence that there appeared to be no hope of them returning on the appointed day, the date of a great feast to be held in honour of their pilgrimage. That evening, at their daily debate, the elders reminded the young men who had stayed at home that in their young days several sea-going canoes had foundered with their crews in a similar high wind on account of the tidal wave produced by a change in the direction of the current. The old men then ordered the immediate sacrifice of several pigs and the formation of a procession to that spot on the beach from which

[1] Godefroy, 1, 1933, pp. 233-4.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OC12 Malekula OO12

721
173

a victim. So he sent his classificatory son Na-mbal and said, "Go and see what they are singing for." So Na-mbal paddled over to Veturah, and they told him what had happened, and said, "We made a mistake, and killed one of our own men too." And they loaded the bodies on to their canoes and paddled over towards Vao.

But they were afraid of Asaor, for none dared tell him of the death of his son Ma-merer. So Na-mbal went on ahead, and when he was near the shore, instead of landing, he remained afloat, with the blade of his paddle in the sand to steady him. And those ashore perceived that something was amiss, and they asked him, and he told them what had happened. And Asoar, when he heard, said, "Bring them all ashore. Bring Ma-merer to Tagune (Asaor's beach),[1] and land the other two at Kowu. I will 'sacrifice' one, and Val-vale will 'sacrifice' the other." So Asaor "sacrificed" his son's father-in-law, saying, "*Simbaten Ma-merer*," "Equivalent for the death of Ma-merer,"[2] and Val-vale "sacrificed" the other, saying, "*Simbaten natuk*," "Equivalent for the death of my son [Na-kin]." So the dead were avenged, but Val-vale still had to pay pigs to Asaor, since it was in his service that Ma-merer had met his death.

[533]

I have recorded the words of the song sung in celebration of the double sacrifice. It runs:

REFRAIN (*ad lib*).

O ai ya gho ngo
O ai ya gho ngo
Banggo a i e

VERSE 1.

Val-vale pwetar-aso ghoro se tele o som,
Sele i mbar-mbar mboto-navi o,
ro tei na-vere mbe viamo.

REFRAIN (as above).

VERSE 2, as Verse 1, but substituting the name of Asaor for that of Val-vale.

The whole song is repeated twice, and at the end of each repetition the singers shout "*Hio, hio, ho!*" and go through the motion of striking the victim.

The word *pwetar-aso* in the first line is possibly the song-language pronunciation of Peter-eve, the alternative name for (or other moiety of) Bot-navi, the name of which occurs in the second line. The first line includes a reference to the hatchet (*tele*) with which the victim is struck,

[1] The exact location of this beach is not marked on my map.

[2] It will be noted that Ma-merer was considered as having been slain by the enemy, although as a matter of fact his wound was due to the misguided spear-thrust of one of his own party, and his ultimate death to the inadvertence of his own clansmen in dropping one of the enemy corpses on to him during the journey home.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

particular kind of rain it is desired to produce. While singing, he taps with his hands upon the 4 young coconuts through their umbrella-leaf wrapping, to symbolise the pattering of the rain upon the ground. This he repeats over and over again till chased away by the rising tide. Then he retires, leaving the image there surrounded by its pudding and the 4 coconuts, having first covered them with heavy stones in order to prevent them from being washed away.

If no rain comes, the process is repeated on the following day, and if necessary again on the next. If on the fourth day there is still no rain, while singing his song he will spear the pudding as if to break the clouds. The same will be done on the fifth day, and if the rain still cannot be induced to fall it is evident that he has failed, and that there is some magician stronger than himself who is engaged in making the sun to shine.

If he still desires to make rain he must start all over again, and this time will choose a creek on the mainland, in the hopes that fresh water will be more efficacious than salt.[1]

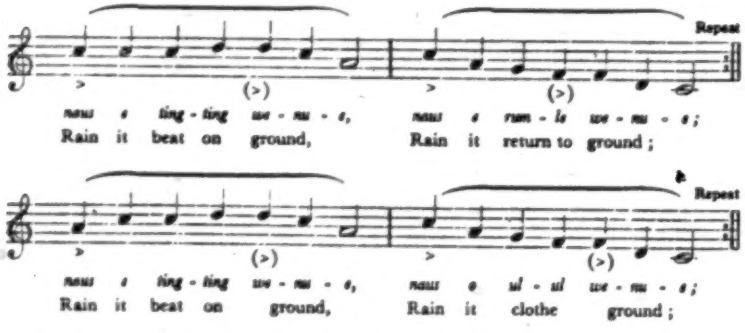
The Songs.

I recorded three songs, each for a different kind of rain, all of which are remarkable for their comparative simplicity both in melody and in rhythm, in which they contrast vividly with most Small Island songs.

The first song, No. 9, is for obtaining what is called the rain of Vao, that is to say a general rain on a calm day without wind from any particular direction. Note the staccato form of the personal appeal to the founder, Bu-wush.

SONG 9

For "the rain of Vao" (i.e. rain without wind)


Repeat
naus e ting-ting uv-nu-e, naus e rum-le uv-nu-e;
Rain it beat on ground, Rain it return to ground;
Repeat
naus e ting-ting uv-nu-e, naus e ul-ul uv-nu-e;
Rain it beat on ground, Rain it clothe ground;

[1] Compare the report by Deacon (4, p. 670) that "a certain magician could bring about wet weather by pouring water on to a certain stone." Harrisson, in a written communication, mentions the spitting of kava juice towards each point of the compass. The use of kava in weather magic on Atchin will be described in a future volume.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
0012 Malekula 0012

789
533
539

naus o si wul . . . . ., re ngen, BU-WUSH, pe - tar - si - o, si we,
Rain it come back, let us eat, BUWUSH, Peter - ihi, thanks,
na bot na ve - na pe - tar - si - o.
the founder (of) the place (?) Peter - ihi.
naus e rum - le n'we - no - en,
Rain it return to the ground this,
naus e se - len we - no - en, naus e se - len we - no - en, naus e ul - ul we - no - en.
Rain it way to ground this, Rain it way to ground this, Rain it clothe ground this.

The words divide themselves into three verses:

Naus e ting-ting wenu(e),
Naus e rumle wenu(e);
Naus e ting-ting wenu(e),
Naus o ul-ul wenu(e).

Naus o si wul re ngen.
Buwush, Petar-si-o, siwa,
Na bot na ve na Petarsio.

Naus e rumle n'weno-en,
Naus e selen weno-en,
Naus e selen weno-en,
Naus e ul-ul weno-en.

"Let rain beat on the ground,
Let rain return to the ground,
Let rain beat on the ground,
Let rain clothe the ground.

"Let rain come back, that we may eat.
Buwush, of Peter-ihi, thanks,
Founder of Peter-ihi.

"Let rain return to this ground,
Let rain make its way to this ground,
Let rain make its way to this ground,
Let rain clothe this ground."

The first and third verses represent the practitioner's desire, and the second his appeal and professed gratitude to his predecessors in the rite.

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
OO12 Malekula OO12

789
533
539

The whole song is in the usual archaic poetic diction. Bu-wush, whose name appears in the second stanza, is, as we have seen, reputed to have been the first man to have made wind and rain magic on Vao. The song is repeated a number of times, and at each repetition the name of Bu-wush is changed for that of each weather magician in turn through whom the stone image and the knowledge of the rite have descended to the present practitioner. Some of these names, on the occasion on which I heard the song, were repeated more than once. They were in groups of 4, namely Meten, Memes, Itöm, Meten; and Iwa, Meten, Nigha, Itöm. At the end of each group of 4 names two lines were repeated, ending on a characteristically weak note, thus:

"Let rain clothe this ground,
Let rain beat on this ground."

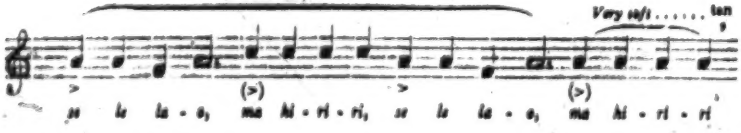
It will be noted how the name of the practitioner's village, Peter-ihi, is rendered by the archaic *Petar-si-o*.[1] *Ting-ting* is a word commonly used for the beating of gongs, and *ul* of articles of clothing, i.e. men's penis-wrappers and women's mat-skirts.[2] Of special interest is the word *tiwa*, here rendered "thanks," a word of unknown origin, noted elsewhere throughout these volumes, indicating heartfelt gratitude.

The other two rain songs which I recorded are:

Song 10, for rain coming from the direction of the island of Oba, i.e. from the north-east. I am unable to translate this. Though the melody is very simple, constructed as it is with only three notes, there is peculiar charm in the very softly sung passages occurring on the words *ma hi ri ri*.

SONG 10

To obtain rain from the direction of the island of Oba (i.e. from the North-east)



[1] Compare *Peter-ari* in Song 6, p. 404.

[2] The danger of translating such archaic words without accurate knowledge of the poetic dialect is well illustrated by the fact that the words *re ngen*, in the first line of the second stanza, mean, in the language of today, "in it," but in the poetic dialect represent the modern *re ghan*, "let us eat."

1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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539

Very soft . . . . . ten
ma hi - rir lin - dron - dro ma - hi - ri - ri ma - hi - rir lau - se
ma hi - ri - ri se la la o ma hi - ri - ri se la la o
ma hi - rir lau se ma hi - ri - ri se la la o ma hi - ri - ri
Very soft . . . . . .
se la la o ma hi - ri - ri.

Song 11, for rain coming from the direction of the island of Raga. Of the archaic words of this song I am able to suggest the translation of some only, which appear to indicate a coaxing attitude, suggesting that the rain, though it has far to travel, cannot be long in coming. It is repeated over and over again.

SONG 11

For rain from the direction of the island of Raga (i.e. from the East)

ten
mi ma la o a no ka - re we - no ngu te mo - ri a o
It comes from afar ground it is near
ten
mi ma la o a no ka - re we - no we shi ili ma o
It comes from afar ground rain it comes